

The Inman Diary A PUBLIC AND PRIVATE CONFESSION

Edited by Daniel Aaron **VOLUME I**

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THE INMAN DIARY

To Evelyn Yates Inman, who lived it

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Acknowledgments

Throughout the seven years this work has been in progress, a number of persons have assisted me in ways too diverse to list. I cannot cite them all, but I am especially indebted to the following.

David Herbert Donald, the Harvard historian, was the first to read Arthur Inman's Diary and to recommend its publication in some form to Harvard University Press. He was kind enough to suggest my name to the trustees of the Inman estate and to the Press as a possible editor of the Diary, and he continued to give me invaluable advice after I had accepted the assignment.

I am grateful for the generous support extended to me by the Inman trustees, Richard McAdoo, Robert Adams, and Evelyn Inman, the wife of the diarist. The Director of Harvard University Press, Arthur J. Rosenthal, has been unfailingly patient and helpful, and I consider myself privileged to have had as my editor the sensitive and sensible Aida D. Donald. My thanks go as well to her efficient colleagues Jacqueline Dormitzer, Camille Smith, Nancy Clemente, and Elizabeth Suttell, who prepared the text for publication, and to Richard Chumley, who entered the huge manuscript on the word processor.

The Inman Diary has been vastly improved by the careful and clarifying reading it received from the author and critic Richard Poirier. I have profited from his acute judgments and perceptions. Special thanks are also due to James Hoopes (he read the uncut Diary and portions of the early draft, and offered useful suggestions) and to Dr. David F. Musto of the Yale University School of Medicine, whose medical report on Arthur Inman, gleaned from his close reading of the Diary, illuminates Inman's personality and character as well as diagnosing his physical condition.

A number of people who figure in the Diary are still alive, and a few of them were willing to be interviewed. I take this opportunity to thank four of these "characters," as the diarist called them, for recollections of their one-time friend and employer. I cannot give their real names, but they appear in the Diary as Edna, Kathy, Roderic, and Corn. I can name Louise Day Hicks, Inman's lawyer during the last years of his life, and I thank her now for her amusing reminiscences.

Michael Shinagel, Dean of Continuing Education and University

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Finally, I wish to express my deepest gratitude to Elizabeth Smith — friend and fellow-voyager — who shared my day-to-day experiences as we explored and mapped the uncharted mind of Arthur Inman. The completion of what seemed at times to be an endless venture owes much to her computer-like command of a thousand and one details and even more to her enthusiasm, inventiveness, and dedication.

Daniel Aaron

Illustrations

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Four generations of Inmans, c. 1895: Arthur, Henry, Samuel, Shadrach.

"Atlanta's First Citizen," Samuel M. Inman, Arthur's grandfather, c. 1900

Mildred McPheeters Inman (Granny Groundhog), Samuel M. Inman's second wife, 1895

Family gathering at Southwest Harbor, 1904

Benjamin B. Crew, Arthur's maternal grandfather, c. 1900

Virginia Fowler Crew (Ginia), Benjamin Crew's second wife, c. 1900

Arthur's mother, Roberta Crew Inman, before her marriage, c. 1894

Caroline McKean Maffitt (Namma), mother of Benjamin Crew's first wife, c. 1912

Helen Crew McCord (Tante), Roberta Inman's younger sister, 1903

Miriam Donalson Crew (Aunt Miriam), wife of Arthur's uncle Ben Lee Crew, 1907

Mrs. Henry A. Inman, c. 1908-1912

Henry A. Inman (The Old Man), Arthur's father, c. 1919

Arthur's parents during their honeymoon on Mount Desert Island, 1894

Penelope Inman Cooper (Aunt Nellie), Arthur's aunt, 1904

Arthur and his Cooper cousins, Sam, Jennie, and Joe, with Granny Groundhog, 1899

Jennie Cooper, c. 1913

Joseph W. Cooper, Arthur's Uncle Joe, husband of Penelope Inman Cooper, c. 1914

Baby Arthur with his mother, 1895

Baby Arthur with his mammy, 1896

Two-year-old Arthur with cousin Sam Cooper, 1897

Arthur at four years old

Arthur at about five years old

Arthur draws a bow with L. Frank Baum, author of the Oz books, during California trip, 1907

Arthur in 1913, the year he entered Haverford College

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Evelyn Yates before her marriage, c. 1921

Arthur and Cloud O'Dust, 1917

Evelyn Yates, 1922

Southwest Harbor, 1902

Garrison Hall today (c. 1982). Courtesy of Robert W. Chalue

Bernard's Elm (The Place), 1931

Huntington Avenue in 1919, when Arthur moved to Garrison Hall. Courtesy of the Boston Public Library, Print Department

Evelyn in contrasting moods, c. 1939, 1940

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Franklin Delano Roosevelt (Roosie the Rat) with Mayor James Michael Curley (right) and unidentified man, 1934. Courtesy of the Boston Public Library, Print Department

"Ready for Impeachment Proceedings — Daniel H. Coakley, member of the Governor's Council, as he went before the state Senate today as defendant in the state's first impeachment trial in 120 years." Boston *Traveler*, August 5, 1941. Courtesy of the Boston Public Library, Print Department

Arthur at 44, in the summer of 1939

Arthur and Evelyn in the Baby Carriage, 1940

Arthur at 45

The diarist in the 1950s

Arthur's Boston, c. 1963, on the eve of the great demolition and the erection of the Prudential Center. Courtesy of the Prudential Insurance Company and Fay Foto

"Never is the worry and dread of the Prudential Center and the proposed six-lane, toll-road expressway off my mind." Courtesy of the Prudential Insurance Company and Fay Foto

"Lewdly, the high control crane, its heavy ball dependent, sways, comes purposefully, bangs into concrete reinforced by steel. Dust arises. Windows no one cared to save splintered." Courtesy of the Prudential Insurance Company and Fay Foto

William F. Callahan at work, c. 1960. Courtesy of the Massachusetts Turnpike Authority

A page from the handwritten Diary, August 20, 1942

A page from the typed Diary, June 8, 1925

Evelyn and Lolo, 1953

Cast of Characters

ABRUZZO, ANTHONY

Hobo, thief, drunk, racketeer, truck farmer, carnival hand, mental patient, salesman, "candy butcher," kitchen man, reporter, Communist party organizer—or so he describes himself in a series of lurid letters (1938-1944) solicited and paid for by Arthur. "When I was made," Abruzzo tells him, "whoever made me lef" out de stiffening."

BANKS, Dorothy

Secretary and trouble shooter. From New Brunswick, brought up by her indulgent Canadian father, railroad man, and her strict grandmother. Irascible, red-headed Dorothy at fifteen sent to a convent; runs away. Receives \$10,000 inheritance from grandmother. Goes to New York City and joins Weber and Field's musical variety show as dancer. Lives gay life of showgirl until marriage. Comes to Boston in 1927 after event-filled years in Colorado and is hired by Arthur. Stays with him until 1938, when he replaces her with Janice Oliphant (q.v.). Described as having "enough paint on her cheeks to dim a robin's breast," nervous, rolling blue eyes, and teeth "more yellow than white."

BARNES, MILLICENT (MIDWID)

Reader and friend, 1929-1939. Born in Toronto, educated in Nova Scotia. Falls in love with married dentist, Hal Wright. Eventually marries him after long affair. During interval, arrives in Boston, answers Arthur's advertisement and works as part-time reader, talker, osteopath. Moves to Fitchburg, Massachusetts, in 1939 with husband. "Mid" is "short and blonde and shopworn looking" with "light blue fish eyes, hard; her mouth, sensual and coarse; her teeth splattered front and back with gold fillings." Arthur helps her financially during Depression, "she being my star reader."

BOLAND, PATRICIA (PATSY)

Reader. From Long Island and Reading, Connecticut. Freshman at Tufts University, aged seventeen, when she meets Arthur in 1944. He is dazzled by her beauty; daydreams about her as alternate wife and surrogate daughter. He teaches her to perform certain kinds of osteopathic therapy. Enters Cornell Medical School in 1947 and fades out of picture. Arthur never forgets Patsy, "balm to my somewhat crestfallen

vanity. I consider her with detachment as well as with my heart, a desirable, attractive, a very treasure of a girl."

BOTTOMLEY, DOROTHY (BOTTOM)

One of favorite osteopaths, 1932-1949. At twenty-six joins Arthur's team of doctors. Practices in Stoneham, Massachusetts, her home since childhood. Tall, amiable, athletic, becomes close friend. Marries in 1941, has children, and continues to practice until stricken with polio in 1949. Arthur devoted to her. Depends on her soothing influence as well as skill in rearranging his migrating bones. "Few people have been finer or fairer to me than Bottom."

BROWN, MERVYN

Arthur's roommate during part of first year at Haverford School, a revenant of his nightmares and a haunting presence throughout the Diary. Appears retrospectively as school bully who makes little Arthur's life a hell. He is "tight-lipped and cruel," a "dark snake ready to strike." Although only a name from the past, Brown is one of Arthur's most sinister "characters."

BUSH, ALMA

Former opera singer, daughter of English army officer. Orphaned at twelve. After unhappy childhood, studies voice in Berlin. Marries American violinist there and returns with him to United States. Marriage fails. For singing debut goes back to Berlin, where son, Fritzie, dies. World War I ends career in Germany. Back to Boston in 1922, dispirited and jobless. Reader for Arthur. Initiates him into sex, setting "his devils dancing." Gradually loses touch with Garrison Hall. Her face, Arthur writes, "looked as though the devils of hell had made it their warring-ground, so many marks of torture, so many little lines, such an expression."

CAFFREE, PATRICIA

Long-time friend of both Inmans. Enters scene as reader and talker in 1931 after career as Broadway dancer ends in accident and while working as waitress in Boston. Goes to Hollywood in 1932 to meet fiancé, Ted Grant. After disastrous marriage (he jilts her for a male friend), marries Paul Bowe, actor and (during World War II and thereafter) officer in military police. Moves from Louisiana camp to Germany during occupation and then back to California. Her long and detailed letters form a rich seam in the Diary, where she is described as "a straight shooter" with "a dynamic personality built upon physical vitality."

CASH, WILMA (OLD OUTHOUSE)

One of the most colorful "characters" in the Diary. Granddaughter of prosperous sea-captain. Works way through high school and the University of Rhode Island. Marries ("an excellent speculation," she says), moves to California, supports ailing husband by teaching. Happily widowed, returns to Massachusetts as high-school teacher and hostess at various summer resorts. Reunited with former sweetheart, Jason Flood (q.v.), Arthur's manservant; comes to Garrison Hall in 1930 and later works as typist, reader, and bookkeeper. Arthur describes her as "an energetic workhorse with a penchant for spewing forth obscenities, a center of frantic activity, tireless and avaricious." After death of Flood in 1936, works on and off at Garrison Hall until 1947.

CONNOR, KATHLEEN (KATHY)

Daughter of Irish immigrant parents, raised in Charlestown, Massachusetts, and educated in local parochial school. Mother cleans railroad cars; father employed as metal worker. Meets Arthur in 1958, aged sixteen and about to work at Newbury Clothiers. Arthur seriously considers adopting her to free her from sordid family but decides against it. Frisky, impish, freckle-faced Kathy reminds him of "a pert and frolicsome bird." She is with him until the very end.

COOPER, JENNIE

Second of Cooper children, born in 1896 to Joseph W. and Penelope Inman Cooper (q.v.). Educated at Shipley School in Pennsylvania. With siblings divides time between Philadelphia and Southwest Harbor, Maine. Marries Don Stanley, friend of Arthur's, and dies in 1922 following pregnancy complications. Arthur fascinated by young cousin with "her red-gold hair, her aristocratic nose, her green eyes, her incomparable legs, feet and ankles, her now-you-have-me-now-you-haven't attitude" and often returns to her in his thoughts.

COOPER, JOSEPH W., JR.

Younger brother of Jennie and Sam Cooper (q.v.), whom Arthur turns to for summer companionship after Sam's apostasy. Attends Hotchkiss School and Princeton University. Arthur sees a good deal of him during Haverford period, occasionally thereafter.

COOPER, JOSEPH W., SR. (UNCLE JOE)

Son of rich Camden, New Jersey, businessman. At Princeton University meets and then marries sister of his best friend, H. A. Inman (q.v.). According to Arthur, she squelches his political aspirations and resigns

him to life as sailor, bridge player, amateur carpenter, man of leisure. Arthur loves him for his many kindnesses. Treasures memory of Uncle Joe's workshop at Southwest Harbor, Maine. "He was six foot three, spare, straight, strong, slow-moving, gentle, a born talker and raconteur."

COOPER, MILDRED

Youngest of Cooper children. Marries Hugh Inman, Arthur's second cousin from New York City.

COOPER, PENELOPE INMAN (AUNT NELLIE)

Sister of Arthur's father and only daughter of S. M. Inman (q.v.). Born in 1870, raised and educated in Atlanta. Marries J. W. Cooper (q.v.) and moves to Philadelphia. Her four children intimates of Arthur. A second mother to him, her house his haven during painful Haverford years. Dies in 1947. Sharp-tongued and complaining yet devoted to her children and nephew. Arthur writes: "Her forehead was always drawn together with frowns. Her mouth was small and pursed, her nose straight. There was always pink in her cheeks. Her hair was very dark and piled to a small out-of-fashion knot atop her head."

COOPER, SAMUEL INMAN

Eldest son of J. W. and Penelope Cooper (q.v.), born in 1894, educated at Hotchkiss School and Princeton University. Officer in World War I. After architectural studies at University of Pennsylvania, practices briefly in Philadelphia, then sets up architectural firm in Atlanta with brother, Joseph W. Cooper, Jr. (q.v.). Close chum of Arthur's, especially during Maine summers. Though Arthur is wounded in early teens when Sam deserts him for other friends, he maintains connections.

CREW, BENJAMIN BAKER

Arthur's maternal grandfather (1844-1916), born and educated in Chattanooga, Tennessee. Employed at fifteen by Chattanooga Rebel and moves with paper to Marietta, Georgia, to escape advancing Yankees. Enlists in Confederate Army in 1863, mustered out in 1865. Opens small newspaper and magazine business in Atlanta and later forms partnership, Phillips and Crew, to start what proves to be a successful piano and music business. Twice married, first to Matilda Maffitt, then, upon her death, to her cousin Virginia Fowler. Arthur remembers him as a charming, dignified man with "a childlike religiosity," his "touch of closefistedness" offset "by a lavish outgiving of personality" and "a patriarchal sentiment towards his family."

CREW, MATILDA MAFFITT (TILLIE)

Arthur's maternal grandmother. Daughter of Carolina McKean Maffitt and Frederick Maffitt, granddaughter of revivalist John Newland Maffitt, Jr. First wife of B. B. Crew (q.v.). Brought to Atlanta with mother and brother after breakup of parents' marriage. Escapes from Atlanta with mother when Sherman's troops invest city. After war teaches in mother's nursery school until she marries B. B. Crew in 1872. Bears him four children; only three — Roberta, Ben Lee, and Helen—survive. Dies before Arthur's birth. From her picture, Arthur judges her to have been beautiful with "air of distinction."

CREW, MIRIAM DONALSON

Wife of Arthur's uncle Ben Lee Crew and daughter of prosperous Georgia lawyer. Brought up in Bainbridge, Georgia, educated in Decatur, Georgia, and Washington Seminary in Atlanta. Studies music in Germany and New York City before marriage in 1908. Divorces husband in 1926 after poverty-filled years and marries wealthy Atlantan. Remains close to Inmans, who helped her in dark days, and sees Arthur intermittently until her death in 1948. He recalls her as enchanting: soft, gold hair worn in pompadour style, "large-pupiled violet eyes, and if no chin, that was lost in the general effect."

CREW, VIRGINIA FOWLER (GINIA)

Second wife of Arthur's maternal grandfather, B. B. Crew (q.v.). Raised in Atlanta. Cousin of Matilda Maffitt Crew (q.v.), B. B. Crew's first wife. Arthur fondly remembers this "handsome, ingenuous, earnest, fair-minded" charmer "overbrimming with maternal kindness."

DICEY, GEORGE

Wheeler-dealer, educated in Boston and New Hampshire. After jobs in Bermuda and South America, secures position as W.P.A. official. Regales Arthur, whom he meets in 1941, with tales of graft and corruption in Boston politics. Arthur pays him to use influence to keep Billy Minor (q.v.) out of army and to quiet street noises. At thirty-two, George, 260-pound dynamo, is a "voluble, vociferous, energetic man, with loud words shot forth with speed. An ingenuous, alert, suspicious mind. A vain and bombastic character, delighting in rodomontade."

EDITOR

Unknown person Arthur addresses throughout the Diary who will bear responsibility of shaping and preparing the manuscript for publication. Arthur furnishes him with a running series of directives and admonishes

him not to cut out shocking or indecorous details lest the "honesty" of the work (its most essential ingredient) be impaired. At once insider and outsider, the Editor in headnotes and concluding section gradually changes from detached observer to engaged commentator to one-man chorus.

FLOOD, JASON (JAY)

Manservant, chauffeur, secretary, 1928-1936. Arthur's 220-pound Mr. Flood ("my big butterball treasure") from small New Hampshire town, son of county drunkard. Quits school at fourteen, works as chore boy, railroad employee, finally as successful bus line operator until change in state utility law forces him out of business. Separated from wife and daughter and married in all but name to childhood girlfriend, Mrs. Cash (q.v.). Poker-faced Jay, with "cheeks like halved apples touched with autumn red" and "a mouth loose and petulant with the lips of an unweaned calf," dies in his sleep at Garrison Hall.

FRAZER, CLAIRE NOEL (MOLLY)

Born on Isle of Wight, daughter of Canadian doctor and English mother. Lives in Bristol, New Zealand, and Canada before entering Baldwin College in Boston. Meets Arthur in 1929, start of lifelong friendship. Falls in love with Sam Mercer, husband of Edna Mercer (q.v.), and marries him in 1934. Divorces him in 1945. Marries university administrator in North Carolina. Claire's periodic visits and letters are important events in Garrison Hall.

FROME, Dr. Ida (Doccie)

Daughter of sailing captain. Early years in Charlestown, Massachusetts. Studies osteopathy in Missouri and sets up practice with Dr. MacIntosh (q.v.) in Boston. Marries Boston politician Al Corbett after fifteen-year courtship; moves to Seal Harbor, Maine, where she continues osteopathic practice. Arthur sees her rarely after 1925 but writes and telephones. Dies in 1935. Arthur often recalls debt to "this good and not always conventionally minded woman" who mothered and spoiled him "shamelessly for the simple but, to me anyway, startling reason that I was I and she had grown to adore me."

GROSS, HENRY

Mentioned first in 1922 when Arthur, unable to read or write music, aspires to fame in world of musical comedy. Through Alma Bush (q.v.), Arthur hires Gross to compose musical setting for his verse. Collaboration continues for several years. Later Gross, urged by Arthur, moves to New York City to do radio work and teach. Patron Arthur retains his affec-

tion for his talented, unworldly friend, "the first Jew in my life that didn't make me crawl in my stomach." Arthur loses touch with him in 1940s.

HAGGERTY, MIKE

Mechanic. Enters Diary in 1943. Irishman from Keene, New Hampshire. Operates garage near Garrison Hall and keeps Arthur's antique cars on the road. Widower, father of four children. Friend of Pearl Hollister (q.v.) from 1950 on. Arthur confers with him about Pearl's problems and fears he may lose Mike's services when he fires her, but Mike remains driver, mechanic, friend. Described as "a huge oaf of a man, kindly, face red, lower whites of eyes showing under pale blue irises, two front teeth gone, quite deaf." Arthur "inordinately grateful to him for the care of my cars."

HOLLISTER, PEARL (HONEY)

Secretary, driver, and all-around helper from 1938 to 1941, again from 1943 to 1944 and 1950 to 1961. Marriage to Norm Leuko ends in divorce. Assists Arthur's mechanic, Mike Haggerty (q.v.). Arthur "loves" this "kindly, pleasant young woman, a "Farm American," "undeniably pretty" in her youth, but later is fed up with her "self-pitying, chip-on-the-shoulder" attitude and lets her go.

INMAN, EVELYN YATES

Arthur's wife and heroine of the Diary. Born in 1901 in Washington, D.C., eldest of two children of Alonzo Chester Yates and Elizabeth Deming. Brought up with younger brother, Richard, on family estate, Ivanwold, on Potomac. Travels abroad with family in 1906, 1908, 1911. Attends Sidwell Friends Select School. Enrolls in Wells College, Aurora, New York, in 1919; transfers to Wellesley College in 1921, graduates in 1923. Spends summers after 1913 at Southwest Harbor, Maine, where she first sees Arthur. He takes note of her: "She is homely as a stump fence built in the dark; but she doesn't giggle all the time." Marries Arthur, November 10, 1923. Stormy years follow, but marriage intact when Arthur dies in 1963.

INMAN, HENRY ARTHUR (THE OLD MAN)

Arthur's pathetic and long-suffering father, born in 1869 to wealthy S. M. Inman (q.v.) and Nancy Jane Dick. After Atlanta boyhood, spends two years at Princeton University, enters cotton business in Atlanta, invests in real estate, founds unsuccessful wagon and harness business. Later joins father's cotton firm and on its reorganization takes over Texas branch. Marries Roberta Sutherland Crew in 1894. Never

understands what ails anomalous son he generously supports; Arthur resents and despises him. Dies in 1951. Arthur notes with relief: "I'm glad he's gone; glad that his constantly disapproving eye is off me."

INMAN, ROBERTA SUTHERLAND (BERT)

Arthur's mother, born in 1873, daughter of B. B. Crew (q.v.), a successful Atlanta businessman, and Matilda Maffitt Crew (q.v.). Marries H. A. Inman (q.v.) in 1894. Encourages artistic proclivities of only child. Arthur devoted to her in early years, but after she dies in 1933 harshly judges her inflexible, crusading, carping morality. "I wish to God I could abruptly cease to dream of her, her wringing hands to get her way, pleading, cajoling, ordering, always pressing her will against my will, her vehemence against mine, rarely succeeding but never quieting, her small dry hands moving, moving."

INMAN, SAMUEL MARTIN (GRANDFATHER)

Businessman and philanthropist and father of H. A. Inman (q.v.), born in 1843, son of wealthy Tennessee farmer. Educated at Maryville College, Tennessee, and Princeton University. Joins Tennessee cavalry regiment at outbreak of Civil War. Afterward establishes cotton business in Atlanta and amasses fortune. Marries Nancy Jane Dick, by whom he has seven children, three of whom live to maturity. After death of first wife, marries Mildred McPheeters (Granny Groundhog). At time of death in 1915, known for many charitable activities and hailed in press as "Atlanta's First Citizen." A short, handsome, blue-eyed man, composed and dignified.

JAMES, ELLA

Reader and talker, 1934-1944, and the only black acquaintance with whom Arthur can be completely frank. Raised and educated in Alabama. Teaches school before settling in Boston and marrying Robert James (Robby), official in Redcap Union. Arthur meets her through Naomi Levitt (q.v.), for whom she is working as cleaning woman. Ella's spirited exchanges with Arthur constitute one of the high points in the Diary. Clashes over racial issues end their friendship (although not his admiration) in 1944. He describes her as "very pretty, yet not pretty. Very sad, yet not sad. Very petulant, yet not petulant. Mask-like yet mobile. A contradictory face. A smallish body, neat, ladylike gestures."

KARLSDORF, Eva

Daughter of German research chemist and Nova Scotian wife. Educated in Boston schools. Answers one of Arthur's advertisements in 1947, a big, tall girl of sixteen, "not bad looking," a torrential talker full of